simple peasant was even more difficult to draw; and bureaucrats were often wealthy landlords as well. Thus, if we employ the term social classes to mean the stratification of society on an economic basis, we will find that class lines cut across the traditionally accepted occupation-status classification.

556 However, members of all the occupational groups regarded the possession of land as the true indication of prestige and security. A landless peasant hoped to possess land, a peasant with some land hoped to acquire more, and the wealthiest landlord wished to do likewise. Artisans who had acquired savings would invest them in land. Merchants invariably put excess capital that might have been used for business expansion into land, although often they did not count on income from it as their principal means of support. Bureaucrats were even more preoccupied with owning land concomitant with their rise in officialdom. This is a common phenomenon in any society where other tangible assets for accumulation are lacking.

Although the possession of land was a criterion for determining prestige and to a large extent the sign of real power, prestige did not always result from wealth and the land-holdings of any one family seldom remained constant for more

556 than two or three generations.[2] These conditions accounted for the lack of a permanent ruling caste in China. There are definite ideals in traditional Chinese culture which conditioned the upward and downward mobility of the people within the social hierarchy.

B. Social Mobility

596 428 55 The Family Ideal. Large families especially of the extended type, were the ideal in China.[3] However, in practice, the ideal was limited by matters of economics. Primogeniture in China had been done away with long before the Manchu Dynasty (1644-1912). Land was divided equally among sons. After successive divisions individual holdings became infinitesimally small. This contributed to the decline of the economic status of even the wealthiest families, particularly when land was the sole source of income.[4]

2. Martin Yang, A Chinese Village, New York, 1945, p. 132; Francis Hsu, Under the Ancestor's Shadow, New York, Columbia University Press, 1948, p. 4.

3. Consult the chapter on The Family.

4. "In the matter of inheritance, the general pattern observed for poor agriculturalists holds very well for the merchant group. Just as at the death of a farmer, there is a sharing of the property. In the agricultural situation, however, there seems to be greater fragmentation of the legacy, each son working his share more or less independently and with a minimum of combination. In the merchant situation there is somewhat more cohesion among the heirs, who often work the inherited enterprise as partners." Morton H. Fried, Fabric of Chinese Society, New York, 1953 p. 52.

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463 592 away as unskilled laborers, to engage in handicraft work at home, to sell as peddlers, or to live on family inheritance.[9]

592 556 The village has a very rich family. It owns half of the cultivated land of the village. Members of this family engage in big businesses in the city of Peiping and in professions in other cities.[10] In addition to this family, there are two more families, one farm and one non-farm, that have business, but on a very limited scale, in the city. Of the other families, only seven persons are in professions and government services, but they hold only very low positions.

Exchange with town- and city-people is important to the villagers. Non-farm families have to buy their daily necessities either from one of the market-towns,[11] or from the two stores in the village which in turn buy their own provisions from towns and the city. The farmers sell their non-food products and cereals of high quality to collectors in the nearest town and buy cereals of low quality for their own consumption. Economic factors have brought the villagers into contact with many strangers, with whom they have to cooperate in order to earn a living. There are not a few families that produce for their own consumption only, but these families have to find other means to buy agricultural implements and other necessities.

468 In these days of great fluctuation in prices, the villagers, particularly the farmers, have many worries. To be a debtor is bad, but to be a creditor is worse. The paper notes returned to a creditor who loaned out his good money years ago are all but valueless to him. One of the most popular subjects of conversation is this economic instability. The villagers have felt the pressure of a world larger than the family and the village. In the solution of their problem of hunger, this pressure has to be considered.

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9 Statistics on occupation and land have been collected. It is hoped that some day we can publish these data.

10 This family of wealth is partly isolated from the rest. It is only recently that we have had a more intimate contact with its members. It is hoped that a case study may be made of this family.

11 For more information on village and town relations, see Ching Ho: A Sociological Analysis, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1930, and a revised statement in Chinese by Ti Huang, The Ch'ing Ho Village-Town Community, The Department of Sociology and Social Work, Yenching University, 1938. 黃迪,淸河村鎭社區,社會學界第十卷單行本,民國二十七年六月.

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618 578 are the leading figures of the H-clan. Their relations can be characterized as harmonious, but in public appearance as well as in family relations, the school principal is subordinate to his distant uncle, the head of the *pao*. As to the other members of the clan, publicly, they act toward one another as clansmen, but inside their own houses they talk differently. Some of them even make accusations against their clansmen who belong to different families, in front of non-clan villagers and some of our investigators whom they take in as their friends.

608 The system of co-relations so popular throughout China is also found in P'ing-chiao-tsun. We have often heard the villagers say that so-and-so was so-and-so's *kan*-father or *kan*-son. All the kinship terms are employed except that a prefix "kan" 乾 is added to each term. There are rights and obligations among co-relatives.[26] Co-relatives are neither related by blood nor by marriage. Through a certain proper ritual, two persons or two families can be made into co-relatives. The degree of intimacy between co-relatives, however, depends upon factors other than the ritual itself.

609 571 Kinship terms such as "uncle" and "aunt" are extended to non-clan villagers. Nevertheless, this extension is only a matter of courtesy or an expression of very close neighborliness and friendship. No segregation between clansmen and non-clan villagers can be observed. Indeed, non-clan individuals may be taken into the inner circle of social communication while a clansman may be excluded from it. Kinship tie is not very strong in P'ing-chiao-tsun.

571 From one of our investigations, territorial propinquity is an important factor in the matter of non-paid borrowings, e.g., the temporary inter-family borrowings of agricultural implements and household utensils. In many cases, a house-wife borrows fire from her neighbor's stove to cook her family meal.

565 829 556 The economic status in terms of the level of living of a family is a very important factor in social intercourse in P'ing-chiao-tsun. The villagers classify their households into three standings: upper, middle and low. There is only one family in the upper class. About one-third of the families belong to the low class. As already indicated previously, the upper family is isolated in the village, and their

26 The system of co-relations in China is in many respects quite comparable with the Pascuan system of ceremonial sponsorship as mentioned in E. H. Spicer, Pascua, A Yaqui Village in Arizona, Chicago, 1940.

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isolation is quite voluntary. The separation between the low and the rest is, however, largely involuntary. The isolation in this case is not quite as complete as that of the rich family.

Social communication is a very subtle factor in human cooperation. As there are so many factors conditioning and, in a way, hindering the process of free communication, P'ing-chiao-tsun is not a very integrated whole. Collective action,[27] if it exists at all, is in need of a sound basis. Thus the principle of political inaction has its root in social communication.

Urbanization

In many respects, the village folks may have their characteristic ways of life; P'ing-chiao-tsun, nevertheless, is a part of the larger community of Peiping, economically, politically and socially.

P'ing-chiao-tsun is at present connected with the city of Peiping by two highways and one railway line.[28] Bus services are available at a distance of four miles and the railway station is about one mile away. No rickshaws are available in the village, but their supply is plentiful in the nearest town about a mile away. Only one bicycle is found and it is the property of the school principal. On business trips, the villagers may use their own carts, hire a rickshaw, or use the railway. On pleasure trips, they prefer to economize their financial resources at the expense of their own organic energy. The time-distance on foot is about two hours to the nearest city-gate. Unless on very special occasions, females have very little chance to see the city. The school principal is the most frequent visitor to the city.

Agricultural products are sold if at all to the agents in the nearest market-town, and very seldom directly to merchants in the city. There are, however, two families in the village which have duck-raising as their occupation. On the days of temple-fairs in the city, the heads of the families with their assistants drive their stock to their customary market-places. These two families have their interests more in the city than in the village. Mr. W-, the head of

27 On general sociological principles of social interaction and collective action, see R. E. Park and E. W. Burgess, **Introduction to the Science of Sociology**, Chicago, 1924; also Richard T. LaPiere, **Collective Behavior**, New York, 1938.

28 On the influences of communication agencies upon social life, see M. M. Willey and S. A. Rice **Communication Agencies and Social Life**, New York, 1933.

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of education of village children. The field of village politics in action was taken up by our assistant and another senior student. The work had not been completed when both of them left the university in 1947, but from their record of observation, we began to understand the process of struggle for power among ambitious individuals in the administrative district where our village is located.

One interesting point might be noted in connection with the method of investigation. As social studies are largely a matter of interaction of the observer and the group observed, the individuals whom the observer has most contact with have very much to do with the records of observation of the investigator. The difference between our first contacts with the village in the pre-war days, and later in the post-war days, is that whereas in the former, we had to depend upon our "liaison man", the school principal, in the latter, we are in direct contact with the villagers. After many years of absence, the nature of the first contact is important in the fact that the villagers are conscious that we are their friends, directly intimate and personal and not indirectly through the school principal. We have very little difficulty in approaching any family in the village, and our contact may thus not be unnecessarily conditioned by an intermediary. If contacts have to be conducted with the assistance of a liaison man, friends and enemies of his would be, though unintentionally, also ours, at least we would be so regarded by the villagers. Many sociological and anthropological field workers have not observed this principle and their studies are necessarily biased to that extent.

The most noticeable changes in the village on our first revisit, were the new faces we met on the streets. During the interval of four years, children had grown into young boys and girls. When we went into homes of villagers, we also noted the absence of some of our old acquaintances, as well as the presence of new faces. A couple of aged persons passed away during the war years. Quite a number of girls had grown up and had left to be married. Naturally, about the same number of young married women had come in. These are the natural events in the social metabolism of a community.

After a closer observation, we could hardly avoid the impression of a general economic dilapidation in many village homes. The reduction in the number of ducks and chickens was very noticeable. One of the two duck-raising families was out of business. The family could hardly find sufficient means for the minimum subsistence. But certain families were quite prosperous, and had at least maintained

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their former condition. The monetary inflation was accelerated in the last years of the war. Those who had little reserve were very hard hit. Some of the clever rich had profited. The short period of price-falling, immediately after the war, had a bad effect on those who had full confidence in the government, when the inflation came back again even at a more rapid rate of acceleration.

Members of the richest family were not in the village. They looked for and lived in cities, as places of security and merriment. Their house and farm were in the hands of two old laborers. These two old laborers of the house became managers of the farm and hired other laborers for the work. The relation of the two laborers to members of the house was one not merely economic in nature, but something personal. The rent of the land was not fixed but varied from year to year at the good will of the managing-laborers. The house was very much dilapidated which was a sign of negligence on the fact of the managing-laborers, and the scant attention paid by the proprietors to their property. The relation of the two groups of laborers was interesting. The manager-laborers had not sufficient time to assume the attitude of a managing-farmer. They commanded the respect of the hired laborers, not so much by their authority, but rather because of their skill in farming.

The major effect of the end of the war was the change in the formal political machinery, and the consequential shift in its personnel. The *pao-chia* system was there when we first revisited the village, but the *fang-li* system and the *Hsin Min Hui* were no longer in existence. The school principal became the deputy head of the *lien-pao* together with new heads of the six old *chia*. Beneath this superficial structure was the struggle for power between two groups. An ambitious duet of father and son wanted to control the *lien-pao*. They organized a group of self-protection militia with the explicit purpose of strengthening the protection of life and property in the local district. They utilized external influence to oust the head, and the deputy head, of the *lien-pao* by accusing them as collaborators of the enemy.

Amidst this struggle for power came a mishap to the deputy head, and his removal from the position of school principal. Whether his removal had anything to do with the political struggle was not known, but following this removal he resigned his office of deputy head. The whole episode was certainly a blow to Mr. H. As we may recall, Mr. H. had the ambition to restore the status